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Most Faults on One Side:

OR, THE

Shallow POLITICKS,

Fooliſh ARGUING,

AND

Villanous DESIGNS

OF THE

Author of a Late Pamphlet,

ENTITUL'D

Faults on Both Sides,

Conſider'd and Expos'd.

In ANSWER to that Pamphlet:

SHEWING,

That the many Truths in Modern Hiſtory, related by the Author of it, do not make Amends for his many Falſhoods in Fact, and Fallacies in Reaſoning.

Tam Ficti Pravique tenax, quam Nuncia Veri. Virg.

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AN

ANSWER

TO

Faults on Both Sides.

I Should have have thrown away a few idle Hours upon this Pamphlet much sooner, but that I long waited in expectation of seeing it Answer'd by some of the *Whigs*; and being mannerly, was willing to give *Them* the *Precedence*. I had reason to believe they would take some notice of it; because the Author (tho' professedly of that Party) lays Crimes to their Charge which I did not think they would have *own'd*, tho' I knew 'em to be *true*. But to my great Astonishment, they are so far from answering it, that they extol it to the Skies, as an incomparable Piece. Bless us! that ever a Set of Men in this Nation should be so profligate, as to glory and triumph in a Book, which proves them to be the *worst Set of Men* that ever was in *any Nation*. In order to carry on a Party-Design, they will freely own themselves to be as Infamous as any Body can make them. Well then; here is the great Difference:

3, 030, 871

The Pamphlet before me accuſes both Us and Them of Crimes and Miſdemeanors: We anſwer it, and They have nothing to ſay againſt it; We diſapprove of it, and They applaud it; Whether We or They are more innocent, let our Auther himſelf conſider.

His Performance is indeed an *extraordinary* one; it is ſuch a motly, party-colour'd, in-and-out Piece, that even this whimſical Age of Scribbling has not produc'd any thing like it. The Truth is, the *Whigs* are got into *a Net*; and to wind themſelves out of it, they are *wriggling* and *twiſting*, and *turning* themſelves into *all Shapes*; and

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?

It is really a difficult Matter; but *Virgil* anſwers *Horace*'s Queſtion:

----- Quanto ille magis formas ſe vertit in omnes
Tanto, Nate, magis contende tenacia vincla.

Hold 'em faſt now you have 'em, notwithſtanding their *Tricks* and *Doublings*; unravel their Fallacies, pin 'em down to the Point, and force 'em to talk to the Purpoſe. Our Author, I warrant you, thinks himſelf *ſo Wiſe*; and yet every Body ſees thro' the *Shallowneſs* of his Politicks. 'Tis true, he expoſes the *Whigs* ſufficiently; but that's only a *Cover* to his main Deſign. Their Management has been *notorious* long ſince; and he only *owns* what every Body *knew before*. But then the Uſe he would make of this ſeemingly *frank Acknowledgment*, is to make it believ'd, that he is *Impartial* in his Account of Things;

Things; in order to have his Project more glibly swallow'd. And what is his Project? Truly, that wise one of a *Coalition*. Since the *Whigs* can no longer rule us *alone*, their next Endeavour is to come in for a *Share*; till by degrees they have inch'd *themselves in*, and worm'd *every Body else out*. This is apparently the Aim of our ingenious Letter-writer; who in spight of his *distinguishing* and *explaining*, discovers much of the *Republican*, shews himself a zealous Friend to the *Dissenters*, and a bitter Enemy to the *Church* and *Clergy*.

Now, forsooth, he is very free and *just* in his Censures, without any regard to *a Party*; but take notice, we had nothing of all this from him, when *Others* were in the Saddle; not a word about *Faults on both sides*, when *his own side* was *uppermost*. But just now on a suddain, upon the Alteration of the *Ministry* and *Parliament*, all that are in Court-Places are full of Faults, *The Heads and Leaders on both sides have always impos'd upon the Credulity of their respective Parties; in order to compass their own selfish Designs, at the Expence of the Peace and Tranquility of the Nation* Title Page.

This Pamphlet, he says, is written *by way of Answer to the Thoughts of an honest Tory*; meaning, I suppose, by an *elegant Metonymy*, the *Author* of a Book so call'd: For he begins with the Appellation of SIR; which I think cannot properly be apply'd to any *Thoughts* whatsoever. The *Thinker* of *those Thoughts* is himself an Epistolary Author; and he, I must own, who could *write*

such a Letter as *That*, was the fittest Person in the World to *receive* such a Letter as *This*.

His Correspondent, whom I am now examining, *begins* a little Unfortunately. He is extremely concern'd lest the Gentleman to whom he writes, should happen to be on the *same side* with *himself*.

——— *Timeo Danaos*, says he, *& dona ferentes?*

P. 1. *YOUR Concessions are so large in OUR Favour, that you give me Cause to suspect you have only assum'd the Name of Tory; but indeed are a crafty Whig at the Bottom.* So that *He being a Whig is afraid* the *Other* is a *Whig*: Which is altogether as good as Prince *Prettyman*'s quarrelling with Prince *Volcius*, for not loving *HIS Mistress*. For as a Man seldom *desires* others to love the same *Woman* that he does; so he is seldom *afraid* of their loving the same *Cause*.

P. 2. He finely observes, *That the difference of Mens Opinions, in relation to Religion and Civil Government, are not so great as they are made to believe.* Which may be true in relation to *some* Persons, and not to *others*; and yet the Difference in Opinions *upon the whole* may *really* be very *great*. He then proceeds to lay down *the main Design* of his Treatise, containing in Substance (tho' not in his own Words) That there was scarce ever any such Thing as an honest Man in an Office. An Undertaking perfectly *new*, and worthy of our Author's *Modesty!*

Ibid. The *Original Cause of our destructive Divisions* is next enquir'd into; and this, it seems, *is primarily*

rily the affecting a greater Power than the Constitution admits on the Part of the Crown; and the endeavouring to maintain the ancient Rights and Privileges of the Nation on the part of the People. So that the *Crown* is very apt to *affect a greater Power THAN THE CONSTITUTION ADMITS*; *but* not a word of this *on the part of the People*: *They* barely *endeavour to maintain the ancient Rights and Privileges of the Nation.* How highly is the Crown oblig'd to this *Impartial* Censurer of *Faults on both sides!* Who affirms all the Fault to be on *One side*, and that too in the *Crown*; which is just *as true* in Fact, as it is *mannerly* and *decent* in Behaviour.

With the same Equity and Truth, he lays all the Blame of the *Civil War* (as he calls it) upon the *King*; and, with an Impudence peculiar to the Writers of his Party, quotes my *Lord Clarendon*'s *History* to justify that Assertion. When it is plain, from the Account given by that *Noble Author*; that before ever the War broke out, the King had made far more Satisfaction for the *Faults* committed *on his side*, than the most unreasonable of his Subjects could have expected. P. 6, 7.

Our Author's nice Distinction between a *Civil War* and a *Rebellion*, would have been spar'd, had he in the least regarded his *Bible*, or (which Perhaps he has a greater respect for) our *Acts of Parliament.* After this, he goes on to make a Parallel between the Proceedings in *Forty One*, and the *late Revolution.* Whether he intends a *Complement* upon the *former* or a Scandal upon the *latter*, I leave to others to determine. P. 8.

Speaking of that Civil War, *p.* 7. he says, *Our Parliaments have had the Caution, that in the Acts pass'd after the Restoration, they would never give it the Name of a Rebellion.* Now, not to mention other Authorities, I have heard of *a Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving to Almighty God for having put an end to* The Great Rebellion, &c. And I have been told that this Day of Thanksgiving was set apart by *Act of Parliament.* His abusing the Clergy for preaching *False Doctrine* about Government, only to *flatter Princes*, and get *Deaneries and Bishopricks*, is nothing but *Common-Place Scandal*; and the *Body of Parsons* may confute it by the same Argument which our Author says, *One Parson* made
P. 45. use of to confute the Cardinal; *Bellarmine thou lyest.* The Doctrine he speaks of is *true*; and the Reflection he casts upon the Preachers, is *false.*

P. 12. *We shall never be well*, he says, speaking of the *Constitution* of our Government, till some good *Patriots shall be so happy as to find out such a* Temperament *as may make the Crown easie, and the People secure.* Very fine! I always thought the Constitution of *Great Britain* the happiest in the World; but this Gentleman is of another Opinion, and roundly declares for an *Alteration.* I suppose he is the Author of another Pamphlet, taken notice of some time since; in which we find these remarkable Words,

The Divine Rights of the British Nation. *I believe but stay till the end of this present Session of Parliament*, (meaning the late Parliament) *he'll find several new Powers annex'd to the Regal Office, and perhaps some made void and repeal'd*

peal'd for the publick Good. Whether he were the Writer of *That* Piece or no; he has said enough in *This*. If such an Author be not encourag'd, when will Merit be rewarded?

After the Restoration, he tells us, *the Nation ran into an Excess of Loyalty*. Now I think a Man can never be *too Loyal*; he, it seems, thinks otherwise. But then, *The poor Dissenters*! How tenderly he expresses himself! Poor Innocents! *They*, 'tis to be hop'd, did not run into *an Excess of Loyalty*; I dare swear there was no danger of *That*. But they were *persecuted*.------They were not tolerated with absolute Impunity, if he pleases, for some part of that Reign. I am sure they never fail'd to persecute the Church with far greater Severities, whenever it lay in their Power. But *the Popish Plot*, he is sure, *was turn'd upon the Presbyterians*. And yet 'tis manifest from the History of those times, that the *Presbyterian-Plot* was altogether as true and real as the *Popish*; nor is it in the least to be wonder'd at: Those two Factions, notwithstanding their Opposition, agree as lovingly as may be in their *Plotting Genius*, as well as in many other *rare Qualities*. P. 12.

What he says about the Duke of *York*, and King *Charles* II's Time, is nothing to the Point; the Properties of *Whig* and *Tory* being quite alter'd since those Days: The Question is, how have Matters stood *of late*? In *This*, and the *last* Reign? Let any Body observe, whether even this Author has taken notice of one quarter of those Faults on the *Tory*-side, which he has

has mention'd on the part of the *Whigs?* The *former* very likely, may have been guilty of *some*, as well as the *latter*; and there are undoubtedly bad Men of all Parties. But what is this to the Purpose? Is there an *Equality* in the Cases, or any thing like it? If there be not; whoever talks of *Faults on both sides*, either tells us a most notorious *Falshood*, or a very *Idle* and *impertinent Truth*.

When King James *succeeded to the Crown, the Tories* (if you'll believe our Author) *deafen'd him with the Noise of their Addresses, stuffed with Expressions of the most extravagant Loyalty, and unlimited Passive Obedience.* If they did, they acted imprudently, I think; there not being *then* the same Occasion for such Professions, as there has been of *late*. But this was at the beginning of his Reign. How went *Addresses*, when that Prince was actually overturning the Constitution? Why, the *Dissenters* were assuring him they would stand him by with their Lives and Fortunes; and wishing for *Windows into their Breasts, that His Majesty might see the Sincerity of their Intentions.* While the Members of the Church of *England*, both Clergy and Laity, were turn'd out of their Places, imprison'd, and so forth, for refusing to obey his unlawful Commands, and for bravely withstanding *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, which were breaking in like a Deluge upon us.

Had I been to have advis'd this Advocate for the *Dissenters*; he should, for their sakes, have pass'd over the State of Affairs, when *Liberty of Conscience*

Conscience was granted by King *James*. Because it only reminds us, that when *Church-men* were turn'd out of Places, *Papists* and *Dissenters* were *put in*.

As to what he says *p.* 15. *&c.* that the Revolution was brought about chiefly by the *Tories*; his calling that Confederacy a *Plot*, by way of Complement, I suppose, upon the Revolution; and his Snear upon *their not resisting, or compelling, but only with Prayer and Tears*, &c. For a full Answer to this, and all other Objections of the like Nature, I refer the Reader to several Treatises, some of which already are, and others, to my Knowledge, shortly will be publish'd; in which the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, and the late Revolution, are vindicated from the Scandal which the *Whigs* and *Nonjurors* endeavour to fasten upon *Both*.

His Historical Account from *p.* 17. to *p.* 46. is most of it true; let the *Whigs* take it among them, and much good may it do them. Particularly, what he tells us about their pillaging the Nation, and raising vast private Estates by cheating the Publick; their wrong Measures in not carrying on the War by Sea, and yet beggaring, and almost ruining the Navy; their shameful Management of the Treasury, and Parliamentary Funds; their continual Briberies, and all manner of Corruptions; their intended standing Army; the Tricks and Artifices both of the *Junto*, and of the late *M---ry*; their ungrateful and unjust Usage of the Earl of *Peterborough*; their scandalous *neglect* of the War in *Spain*; or rather,

rather, their indefatigable *Care* and *Industry* to *perpetuate* it; the Business of the 28. or (as some say) 29000 Men, that *should have been there*; their *base* Design upon Mrs. *M-------m*, and their *villanous* one upon Mr. *H-----y*; the Insolence of a certain great Man about the Disposal of a Regiment; and their Design to make him G-----l for Life; their senseless and seditious Clamours against changing the Ministry, and dissolving the Parliament; their procuring the *Bank* and the *Dutch* to interpose with Her Majesty to prevent it; and lastly their traiterous and unheard of Attempts to hinder the Supplies of Money, and break the Credit of the Nation. In all these Things, I must own our Author is a very faithful Historian; and where does even *this Whig* lay one fifth part of these Crimes and Misdemeanors to the Charge of the *Tories?* But to make some amends for these unnecessary and imprudent Truths, there are various Falshoods, and other odd Things interspers'd thro' those very Pages. One may indeed apply to this Piece, with some Alteration, that Couplet in *Absalom* and *Achitophel*, about the *Popish-plot*:

Some parts were true; but mixt and brew'd with Lies,
To puzzle all the Fools, and please the Wise.

To *please* them, I mean, so as to make them *laugh at it*; and despise the little Contrivances of this small Politician.

Speaking of the Corruptions of the *Whigs*, he tells us, *pag* 24 *That they were in their Actions reall*

really turn'd Tories, tho' they ſtill affected to be accounted as good Whigs as ever. And *p.* 25, acknowledging that the *Tories* did ſome good Things, he ſays, *Thus the* Tories *themſelves became* Whigs *in Practice; may they never repent the Change.* So that it is taken for granted without any more ado, that the *Whigs* (as ſuch) are in the Right; and that the *Tories (as ſuch)* are in the Wrong; whereas I thought *That* had been the very Point in Controverſy. Had this Author ever been at either of thoſe Univerſities which his Party is ſo apt to vilify and deſpiſe; or had He made any Uſe of his Time there; he would have known, that this Blunder in Reaſoning is call'd *Petitio Principii*, Anglice, *begging the Queſtion*; and that it is an infallible Argument of Ignorance, and want of Senſe in the Perſon that commits it.

Among the Faults of the *Whigs* in King *William*'s Time, he reckons *their neglecting many deſerving Men of their own Party (and even the extraordinary Mr.* Johnſon) *that had been Sufferers in the late Reigns; and their never offering to take off the Sacramental Teſt, when 'twas in their Power.* To do the *Whigs* Juſtice, I think our Author wrongs 'em: He blames 'em for not being *wicked enough*; This indeed ſhews the *Superiority* of *his own* exalted Genius; but 'tis a Crime of which the *Whigs* are entirely *Innocent*. 'Twas not in their Power to take off the *Sacramental Teſt*; they would have done it, if they could; the King would not have conſented to it; the Nation would have

have been in Confusion; and tho' they had a Majority on their side, they did not dare to attempt it. As for the other Fault which he lays to their Charge; the Reader is to understand (if he does not know it already) that this Mr. *Johnson*, for whose not being prefer'd, our Author is so much concern'd, was indeed (as he stiles him) an *extraordinary* Person. He was one that had been whip'd from *Newgate* to *Aldgate*, for writing Sedition and Rebellion in King *James*'s Reign. And *many Others*, it seems, were *neglected* as well as he. 'Tis true, I think *Titus Oates* was never prefer'd, tho' he was both *Whip'd* and *Pillory'd* for Perjury; so that he likewise had been a *Sufferer*, and was certainly *a very deserving Man of their own Party*. If the *Other*, who was barely whip'd, should have been made a *Dean*; this Man, who was both whip'd and pillory'd, surely ought to have been a *Bishop*. But here also the *Whigs* were guiltless. Can it be suppos'd that King *William*, or any other Prince upon Earth, would ever have promoted either of those *Worthies*, who were branded for Sedition, or Perjury? He would never have done it upon any Consideration whatsoever; no, not upon An Address from the House of Commons. There was a Talk indeed about a *Pension* bestow'd upon one of 'em; but that's *Secret History*.

In the next Page, he is pleas'd to be so free with an *Honourable Gentleman* now *in a very high Post*, as to call him *a stanch old Whig*. What Authority he has to say so, I know not; if he has

has none, Will that Great Man thank him for this Familarity? especially when he presumes to print his Name at full length. I should think my self very impudent, should I dare to do so; and shall take care not to commit the Fault I am reprehending, *Pag.* 33. He is at it again: *Nor is it less worthy the Notice of the* Whigs (says he) *that this very Gentleman, if his Conduct should be impartially consider'd, it will be found that his Actions have shown him much more a true* Whig, *than his Adversaries.* Whether *He be a true* Whig or no, I am sure *this Sentence* is not *true Grammar*; but let that pass. Our Author is indeed very lavish in the Praises of that honourable Person; But for what? only for being a *Whig*; whereas I should think it Saucinefs to call so Great a Man by either of the *Cant-Names* now in Fashion. Nor can I imagine that He, who upon so many Accounts deserves all *real Praise*, can ever think it an Honour to him to be so *awkardly* and *falsely* flatter'd; or that he can be prevail'd upon by any Consideration, much less by so *abusive* a Panegyrick, to link himself in Interest with a Faction of Men, who have not only always bespatter'd his *Reputation*, but have once had a fair Stroak at his Life.

But by what has that Gentleman shewn himself a *Whig*? Or what great Things has he perform'd in his *Whig-Capacity*? I don't find that this Author himself mentions any thing, except his Voting against the *Tack*; if that proves *Him* to be a *Whig*, I doubt it proves *too much*: And shews *many other* Gentlemen to be of that Party;

whom

whom yet, I believe, this Writer wo'nt be willing to receive into his List of *Whigs*.

With the same wise Artifice he endeavours to wheadle a *certain Lady* of the Court, whom he calls a *modest, discreet, inoffensive, vertuous Gentlewoman*. *The* Whigs (says he, *p.* 34.) *are perswaded to believe her to be the worst of* Tories; *tho' at the same time she is Marry'd to the Son of one of the best* Whigs *in the Nation*. So that our Author lays his Hand upon Her Head, stroaks her, tells her she's *a good Whig*, and gives her his Benediction. But both this Lady, and the Gentleman above-mention'd, are too Wise to be *complemented into* Whigism, especially when the Complement is so very bad a one, as only to tell them they are *Whigs already*. *Almost thou perswadest me to be a* Whig, is just the Reverse of, *Almost thou perswadest me to be a* Christian.

At the bottom of *p* 25, he takes occasion to abuse King *William*. *The King himself* (says he) *had been too much inclin'd to make his Advantage of Party; tho' I believe without ever having had any Design to invade our Liberty*. He *believes* so, but is not at all *Jure* of it; whereas I thought that Glorious *Asserter*, *Defender*, and *Rescuer* of our *Liberties*, was never *in the least suspected* of any Design to *invade* them. But our Author, it seems is of another Mind: I doubt he will not do so much in Honour of King *William*, as to admit him into the Number of his *good Whigs*.

What is most remarkable in this finder of *Faults on both sides*, is, his extraordinary Zeal for

for one of the most abominable Faults that can well be committed, *Occasional Conformity*. And so (says he, *p.* 27.) *this Noisie, Mischief-making Party-driving, Good-for-nothing-Bill, came to be utterly lost*; meaning the Bill to prevent that *detestable Hypocrisy* and *Prophanation of the Sacrament*. Now I assure him, I shall not argue with him upon this Point: The Man that appears in *such a Cause*, is fit to *dispute* with no Body: All the Use I make of it, is to desire the Reader to take notice, that he who *pleads for the* Whigs, *abuses the Church* and *Clergy*, and endeavours at *a Coalition in the Ministry*, does at the same time declare for *Occasional Conformity*; a Practice so scandalous, that few of the Dissenters themselves have Impudence enough to defend it. I never knew but *one* Man that justify'd it, and He was a B------ Vide *The* B— *of* S—'s *Speech about* Occasional Conformity.

Tho' our Author is very complaisant to some certain Persons; I must entirely acquit him of *Flattery* to the *Queen*. He says, *p.* 31. that *An Answer to the Address* (meaning That about the *Spanish* Affairs) *was trim'd up in the Queen's Name to palliate*, &c. Her Majesty, we see, is very insignificant in his Opinion; but he rises in his Complement, *p.* 35. *The good Queen (may I say) submitted and yielded the Point to him*. Whether that softning Parenthesis *(may I say)* relates to the Word *Good* which goes before it, or to the Word *Submitted*, which follows it, is left in doubt. According to the Rules of *true Construction*, it should belong to the *former*; but our Author knowing very lit-

tle of that matter, I can't say he had any such wicked Design. Take it therefore in the other Sense if you please; and then his saying, *The Queen submitted, and yielded the Point* to one of Her Subjects, is most impudent and undutiful; notwithstanding the *mollifying Expression* which prepares the way to it. Then every Body knows that the Word *Good* very often carries in it much more of *Contempt* than of *Reverence* or *Affection*. Whether it does not visibly do so in this very place; I leave to the determination of any good *Englishman*, that can construe *bad English*.

But the greatest Proof of this Respect for Her Majesty, is his pretending to *know Her Mind so perfectly well*, and to be so intimately acquainted with Her Royal Resolutions. Of this I shall produce two remarkable Instances, which, upon another Account likewise, I take to be the most illustrious Passages in this famous Work; because they discover the *very Soul* of this Author, the whole Drift and Design of his Book, which is plainly to bring about that *Coalition* which the *Whigs* are driving at. The first is in *p. 36. Nor is there* The least Reason to Doubt *but that all those of the* Whig-*Party, who shall abandon the ill Designs of the* Junto, *and heartily concur (according to their own Principle) in the promotion of the Publick Good, will be as freely admitted into Employments, and as well regarded as ever; nothing being more desir'd than a* Coalition *of the honestest Men of both sides, to ballance the over-*

grown

grown Power of the Miniſters. Here indeed he ſpeaks out; But is there not *the leaſt Reaſon to doubt* of all this? *He,* I confeſs, has declar'd for a *Coalition*; But when did *the Queen* declare ſo? Then if we conſider the *Reaſonableneſs, Expediency,* or even *Poſſibility* of ſuch a Project; *Where ſhall we find* theſe *honeſteſt Men of both Sides?* And if they were all *freely admitted into Employments,* how would they *ballance the over-grown Power of the Miniſters?* They would *then* be Miniſters *themſelves*; Would they not? And ſo it ſeems, the *Miniſters* muſt *ballance the over-grown Power of the Miniſters.* This is certainly the *oddeſt Ballance* that ever was heard of: If the ſame Scale weighs againſt it ſelf, Pray which Side will preponderate? It cannot be ſaid, that ſuch Miniſters would be mutual Checks upon each other; for they are ſuppos'd to be all *honeſt Men,* to have thrown off *Party-Diſtinctions,* and to unite in one *common Deſign* of promoting the *Welfare and Proſperity of the Nation.* But ſuppoſe there be *no honeſt Men* on one of theſe Sides; what ſhall we do then? And yet That happens to be really the Caſe. They may be honeſt, very likely, *in ſome things*; they may be juſt in *Buying* and *Selling*; nay, for ought I know, they may be ſo conſciencious as not to *Cheat at Cards*; but with relation to the *Government,* or our *Conſtitution* in Church and State, they are *upon Principle diſhoneſt,* and not fit to be truſted in the Adminiſtration of either.

Our Author indeed, thinks fit to affirm, that *The Principle of the* Whigs *is to concur in the promotion of the Publick Good*; but I dare say, three Parts in four of the Kingdom are sufficiently convinc'd of the contrary; and two Thirds even of his own Book, are a Confutation of that Maxim. Why therefore should such Men be joyn'd with those of opposite Principles in the Administration of Affairs: Common Reason tells us, that a *Coalition of Contrarieties* can tend to nothing but *Corruption*; and Common Experience assures us of the same Truth in the very Instance we are now speaking of. Her Majesty, no doubt, very well remembers, that such a Coalition had *well nigh* ruin'd Her *Royal Unkle*; and actually *did ruin* Her *Royal Grandfather*.

Our Author pursues his Argument with the same Confidence, and certain Knowledge of Her Majesty's Mind, *p* 43. *In the mean time* (says he) *I dare assure them* [the Dissenters] *that they have none of these things to fear, and that Her Majesty is as firmly resolved against all Extreams as they can wish; that She will bear equal Regard to Men that behave themselves well of either Side, and desires that the Names of Parties and Factions may be buried in Oblivion; and that we may have no other Mark of Distinction among us, than that of Knaves from honest Men: that they will find such of the* Tories *(as People still call them) as shall be admitted into the Ministry, will come into moderate Measures, and when any of them act otherwise, they will be laid*

laid by; *and that* The Queen has Declar'd, *as a Principle*; *She will always stand by, that She will never suffer her self to be prevail'd upon to make the Dissenters uneasy by an* Occasional Conformity-Bill, *or any thing like it*; *and that She will inviolably maintain the* Toleration *they now enjoy.*

For a thorough-pac'd Writer, and one that will stick at nothing, let me recommend our Author to all my Country-men. What *Great Man* is he? One of the *Cabinet* to be sure; otherwise, How comes he to be so intimately acquainted with what Her Majesty *designs*, and what she has *declar'd?* Because I have not yet heard that She has publish'd a *Proclamation* declaring her Resolution never to allow of an *Occasional Bill.* For a little Scribbler of a Party to pretend to be partaker of *Royal Secrets*; is such Impudence, as *Whigism* it self can hardly parallel. But to consider a little more distinctly: Never were Truth and Falshood more blended and confounded, than they are in this precious Paragraph. Her Majesty is certainly *resolv'd against all Extremes*; but *All* are not *Extremes* which *some People* call so. She will undoubtedly *bear equal regard to Men that behave themselves well of either Side*: Yes; but the Mischief is, People of *one* Side, if they act according to their own Principles, *cannot behave themselves well.* She *desires that Names of Parties and Factions may be buried in Oblivion*: No doubt of it: but I suppose too, She will take proper Measures to have it done effectually:

And I believe it is not to be done by *crying down* the Words *Whig* and *Tory* in all the Market-Towns of *Great-Britain*, and at the same time encouraging Persons of opposite Principles, and being equally kind to Her Enemies and Her Friends, by kneading Inconsistencies, and endeavouring to reconcile Contradictions; which is the way to keep up Factions eternally, and perpetuate Quarrels and Confusions. The only way to put an end to Parties, is to promote None but Persons of *true Principles*; for then Those who are otherwise will soon cease to be a *Party*; or at least will be a very *insignificant* One, and not considerable enough to cause any Disturbance. To think of winning them over by Favours and Preferments, is a Project that always has been found ineffectual, and ever will be; 'tis not in their Nature to be conquer'd with Kindness; Power makes them Insolent, and Obligations only gives them an opportunity of shewing their Ingratitude: Nothing will content them but reigning alone, justling out Those by whom themselves were brought in, and insulting and domineering even over Him or Her from whom their Authority is deriv'd. The only safe Method is to keep them at a distance, and put it out of their Power to do Mischief. 'Tis certainly better for Me to keep a *Fever* out of my Veins, than civilly to admit it, and then *complement* it with *Coolers*; which are of no use but only to enflame it, and render it more *outragious*.

I agree

I agree with our Author, that Her Majesty unquestionably desires to have *no Distinction among us, but that of Knaves and Honest Men*; but then I believe, She means not only such as are *just* or *unjust* in *Dealing*, and so forth; but by those Expressions She moreover understands *True* and *False Subjects*, and *True* and *False Church-men*. I lay no more Stress upon the Words *Whig* and *Tory*, than He does; but I lay a great deal upon the *Principles*, which are *really* as distinct and opposite, as *East* and *West*. To speak clearly therefore, Men are known by their *Actions*; and we hope and believe Her Majesty will never encourage Those (whether you call them *Whigs* or *Tories*, I care not) who have deny'd Her Title, condemn'd the Doctrines of the Scriptures, been more zealous for the Toleration than for the Constitution, have pillag'd the Publick to enrich Themselves, and invaded both the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Subject. I say, we believe it may be depended upon, that She will not promote those who have either *voted* for these Enormities, and *acted* in them; or *adhere to*, and *espouse the Interest* of Those that *did* These Things are plain and visible; and 'tis a Jest to say that all the Difference lies in *Party Names*: Those Words no doubt, are us'd in a very loose Signification, and are often apply'd to Persons that don't deserve them: But still there is a real and visible distinction in Mens Principles and Practices, *whatever Names* are put upon

them; or whether they have *any Names* put upon them, or no.

Were there nothing else to be said against such a Coalition; Princes are always oblig'd in Honour to encourage and reward their truest Friends and most faithful Subjects. And there are always more than enough of Them, who have Abilities sufficient to fill all Places of Trust; and consequently there can be no *room left for others.*

But now comes the unconquerable Objection of all; insisted on by others, tho' not mention'd by our Author; That *a Prince must not reign only over a Party of his Subjects.* Reign over them? Are they not his Subjects, unless they are *Treasurers, Comptrollers, Stewards,* and *Secretaries of State?* He reigns over them, I think, while he gives them the common Benefits of Government, regulates them by Laws, secures them in their Liberties and Estates, and protects them from foreign Enemies: Nay he reigns over them while he *discountenances* them, and even *punishes* them. For is *preferring* and *advancing,* the only Act of Sovereignty? Are not Princes appointed for a *Terror to evil doers, as well as for the Praise of them that do well?* Does not God reign over Sinners, as well as good Men? Over Devils, as well as Angels? But in short, the Principle of our *Latitudinarians* is, that all ought to be equally encourag'd and rewarded; and that no Distinction is to be made between the *best* Subjects, and the *worst.*

As

As to what they talk about a Prince's reigning *in the hearts of all his Subjects*; there never yet was such a Prince in this World, and 'tis impossible there ever should be. As long as there are wicked Men in being, the most unexceptionable of Governours will never be lov'd by *all* whom he governs; and the only way for him to be lov'd by the *greatest part* is, to encourage the *best*; because then his Administration will be just and prosperous, and consequently the generality of his People will be easy and happy under the Influence of his Government.

This is plainly the true State of the Matter; This is *Sense* and *Reason*: Whereas the Scheme of the *Whigs* is nothing but *Fallacy* and *Amusement*, made up of *general Phrases*, with no *distinct Signification*; and if it be *unravell'd*, and drawn out *Thread* by *Thread*, it appears to be perfect *Nonsense*. Whatever they talk about, they *entrench* themselves in the Words *Unity*, *Peace*, *Forbearance*, and the like; and then they think they are safe: Because by Vertue of those Sounds they can *throw Dust into Peoples Eyes*, and darken their Understandings. The Truth is, the great Fundamental Principle of the *Whigs*, is *Confusion*; not only in *Government* both of Church and State, but also in *Reasoning* and *Thinking*; They hate all *Order*, *Clearness*, and *Regularity*; they are for *huddling* and *jumbling* Ideas and Things as much as possible, and for destroying all *Distinction*, even that of *Good* and *Evil*, of *Truth* and *Falshood*. In short, they are for *Coali-*

tion

tion, Latitudinarianism and *Comprehension* in all things.

Such of the Tories (says our Author) *as shall be admitted into the Ministry, will come into moderate Measures; and when any of 'em act otherwise, they will be laid by.* Indeed! *moderate* Measures! That *Word*, it seems, is come to Town again. The *Whigs* first started it in 1703; and when it had done their Business, they discarded it, like Ingrates: Which was towards the latter end of the Year 1705. Not a Word about *Moderation*, when they had gain'd their Point, and were got uppermost. *Now* it comes into play again, for Reasons very easy to be discern'd. But that Sham won't take any more; indeed it won't: To be gull'd *twice* by the *same Word* is too much in Conscience; we have been bubbled by it *once*, and *that's fair*.

Will not the *Tories* then pursue *moderate Measures?* Yes, that they will; and 'twas always their Principle to do so But what sort of Moderation is *Theirs?* In the first place, 'tis not *Whigish or Fanatical Moderation*; that is to say, it does not consist in *tearing* and *rending*; nor in the most outragious *Malice* and *Injustice*. Then 'tis not such a Moderation as the *Whigs would have us exercise*; consisting in *Carelessness* and *Indifferency*, in *giving Power to our Enemies*, in *Coalition*, and *Comprehension*. But they will shew a *Moderation truly Christian*, and agreeable to the Principles both of the *Church* and *State* of *England*: They will immoveably stand by and defend our Constitution both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*

Civil. which is entirely founded upon Principles of *Moderation*; and will discountenance All that are disaffected to either; They will join Dispassionateness, and Coolness of Temper, to Honesty, Wisdom, and Courage: They will carefully *avoid all extremes,* by being steadfastly Loyal to their Sovereign, zealous for the Liberties of their Country; and Religiously just to all Men. This, and This only is *Moderation*, truly so call'd; All, besides it, is *Cant* and *Delusion.*

That Her Majesty *will inviolably maintain the Toleration* (if by that Word our Author means The Indulgence by Law allow'd to Scrupulous Consciences) no body doubts; and we are all very willing the *Dissenters* should enjoy it, tho' by their Behaviour they *don't deserve it.* But for such a Writer as This, to affirm positively, publickly, and in Print, That *Her Majesty has* Declar'd *She will never consent to an Occasional Conformity Bill, or any thing like it,* to put a stop to the most scandalous and impious Abuses of a legal Indulgence that ever any profane harden'd Hypocrites were guilty of; nay to prevent many notorious Offences against the *Act of Exemption*: I say to affirm, that the Queen has *declar'd* This, is such Insolence as is undoubtedly criminal in the Eye of the Law, and ought to be *punish'd,* rather than *answer'd.* Vide the Queen's Speech.

I never saw, nor heard of this Pamphlet, till a considerable time after the Dissolution of the late Parliament; and yet, it seems, it was written before it, if not publish'd; because our Author

thor speaks of that Dissolution, *p.* 46. as a Thing not yet done; and tho' he was pleas'd *freely to submit to the Wisdom of his Superiours* (which was very kind) yet he knew also, *that a great many good Men, equally zealous for their Queen and Country, would have been extremely gratify'd, if it could have been forborn.* Oh! no doubt of it; a *great many* would have been *extremely gratify'd*; and Those who would have been so, were, I confess, Equally *zealous for their Queen and Country*; that is to say, they were full as zealous for one as for t'other. The Queen and Country would have been in a blessed Condition, if that good Parliament had sat once more; because from what They *did do* We may fairly collect what They *would have done*: And Those *good Men* who would have been so *extremely gratify'd*, are *now*, I am afraid, as extremely *mortify'd*. But be that as it will; This Gentleman did his best: And I must own that *such an Author* was very fit to be Advocate for such a *Parliament*.

P. 46. *The Number of the Whigs*, He says, *is made up for the most part of Men of Thought and Industry.* I must acknowledge indeed, that they are very *Thoughtful* in *contriving Mischief*, and very *Industrious* in *executing* it. But there is another *Set of Beings* in the World, which is as famous for *both these Qualifications* as the *Whigs*: Out of These I question not but it is possible to select *Five*, who in *Thought* and *Industry* may be not inferior to the *Junto*.

But

But They *understand their Principle*; so do their *Allies* just now mention'd;---*and are careful to preserve Liberty and Property*---Yes; witness the Impeachment of Dr. *S*----- But however, *They are generally honest, well-meaning People, and intend the Publick Good.* How true this is, may be infer'd from what I have said, and from the History of them, which has been given us by our Author himself *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

Having thus adjusted the Character of the *Whigs*, He proceeds to that of the *Tories*; the Generality *of whom He takes to consist Mostly of a looser and less thoughtful sort of People.* If He means looseness in Morals, or Principles, I utterly deny it; because for all manner of Lewdness and Debauchery in Practice (as well as Infidelity in Profession) there never was such a Crew of Profligates under the Sun, as the present Set of *Whigs*. But if he means *Remissness* and *want of Diligence* in promoting our Interest; I acknowledge We have not been half so industrious in a good Cause, as They have been in a bad One. *That* has really been our Fault; and *Ibid.*

----------*Fas est & ab Hoste doceri*;

I hope we shall mend it for the future; and I thank our Author for this courteous Admonition.

But he goes on; *They* (the Tories) *look no further than the Out-side of Things, and take up with Notions they don't understand, condemning the very same things in Others which they have practis'd Themselves.* *Ibid.*

Themſelves. All this is *ſoon ſaid*; He ſays *it is ſo*, and I ſay *it is not ſo*; and then we are *even*: Which is all the Anſwer I ſhall give to this Objection.

But now make way there, ſtand clear; our Author is going to lay about him like a Madman: If He

Lord *Roſcommon's* Eſſay.

(Like Virgil*) ſeems to to trifle in a Line,*
'Tis like a Warning-piece that gives the Sign;
To wake your Fancy, and prepare your Sight,
To reach the noble Height of ſome unuſual Flight.

He bellows like a Fury; and Out-raves, and Out-ſcolds the *Review* or *Obſervator*. Immediately after the Words laſt quoted, he riſes in his Stile thus; *They are mightily influenced by the High-flying Clergy, and Dance after their Pipe; and we ſee what a madneſs they are run into for the ſilencing an Incendiary. What a Noiſe do they make with their Nonſenſical Addreſſes, and furious inſolent Sermons?* Ah! That *Incendiary*----There it cuts---He'll never be forgiven. After all, this *Incendiary*, as it happens, has contributed more to the *quieting* and *cooling* of the Nation, than any Man in it; and I believe the Kingdom has not at any time in our Memory been more unanimous than it is *now*, by his opening People's Eyes, and giving them a right Notion of Perſons and Principles; which is the *only way* to unite us one among another. So that *if He be an Incendiary*, He is one of Thoſe who *quench* with *Fire*, inſtead of *burning*:

P. 47.

----Com-

——— *Compescuit ignibus ignes,*

Ought to be his *Motto*; and to be put on the other side of that *ungracious Snuff-Box*, which has already given so much Offence to the *Godly*.

Those *Addresses*, likewise, will never be pardon'd by the Faction; because they greatly contributed to break the Neck of the *Whig-Interest*. But were they *Nonsensical* Ones? For my part, I always took *Her Majesty* to be a Judge of *good Sense*; and she receiv'd them with the highest Approbation. But this is another of our Author's Complements upon the Queen; and 'tis no wonder that those Men should have no respect for Her *Judgment*, who have long since given us uncontestable Assurance that they have none for Her *Authority*.

The *furious insolent Sermons* come next to be consider'd: And here again the *Whigs* are struck to the Heart. The Clergy (to their immortal Honour) behav'd themselves, during the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverell*, with the Courage and Constancy of Primitive Christians: They preach'd the decry'd Doctrine ten times more than ever; and, even when they expected nothing but to be undone, they despis'd the ridiculous Malice of their Persecutors. This Behaviour of Theirs compleated the Ruin of the *Whig-Faction*; but by what Figure our Author calls their Sermons *furious* and *insolent*, I know not; unless it be for this Reason, because they confounded the *Fury and Insolence* of their *Enemies*.

The

The truth on't is, the Clergy of the Church of *England* (who for Learning, Parts, and all sorts of fine Thinking and Writing, are the most considerable Body of Men this day in the World) are not to be crush'd by such an illiterate, Atheistical Party, as the *Whigs*; even when that Party is uppermost. And be it known to those Men; among whom a Rake passes for a Wit, a Farce-Writer for a Poet, an Oath for a Jest, and Blasphemy for an Argument; that if ever they think fit (should it please God, for our Sins, ever to suffer them to have a Majority again) I say, if ever they dare to fall upon a Clergy-man of the Church of *England*, especially such a one as Dr. *Sacheverell*, if such another can be met with; they will find to their Confusion, that they had much better have let him alone, and that They have only *caught a Tartar* with a Vengeance.

P. 47. I am surpriz'd at our Author's Condescension in owning that the Queen has an *Hereditary* Title; tho' (to ballance that Goodness) he prefers Her Parliamentary Title before it. But, then he utterly denies that the House of *Hannover* has any Hereditary Right: That Family, *Ibid.* (he says) *can pretend to no Claim but by Act of Parliament*. Now I declare, I am of another Opinion; and think that the Act of Settlement having excluded all Popish Successors, the House of *Hannover*, being next, succeeds in course by an *Hereditary Right*.

Speaking upon that Subject, He goes on thus: *If their own ignorant Partizans don't see,*

We

we know what the Contrivers intend by it: For One of their own Writers *has told us plainly, that* "Hereditary Right, and the natural Allegiance due to it, is a ſtubborn Thing, and "will not bend even to an Act of Parliament, "nor to a thouſand Uſurpations." *This is plain enough without a Comment.* I am ſure, it is plain enough, that this Paſſage *wants a Comment*: The Book here quoted was written, as all the World knows, by *a profeſſed Jacobite*: And I appeal to any Man that is a Chriſtian, Whether it be not *Villany* in our Author, to call Him *one of our Writers?* But a little farther He is more copious upon the ſame Subject. *For my own part, I am ſuſpicious that the NON-JURORS AND THE HIGH CHURCH CLERGY* (obſerve how They are coupled) *who think their Eccleſiaſtical Domination too much clip'd by our preſent Conſtitution, are at the bottom of all theſe Out-cries; that, if poſſible, they might ſtir up their giddy Devotees to bring in the Pretender, with whom they may imagine that they might make their own Terms. Such falſe and malicious Suggeſtions as thoſe above-mentioned, do indeed ſhew the true Spirit of* Toriſm. Theſe laſt Words, I am ſure, may very well be turn'd upon the Writer of 'em: *Such falſe and malicious Suggeſtions* as His, do abundantly *ſhew the true Spirit of* Whigiſm; which is everlaſting Impudence, Lying, and Slander. In the midſt of theſe Clamours about *Jacobitiſm* for twenty Years together, has there been one Man of the *Tories* prov'd by any Action to be

Ibid.

Ibid.

in that Interest? And as for their Doctrines, and Professions, They declare that Her Majesty has an *Hereditary Right*, asserted and maintain'd by *an Act of Parliament*; that the Pretender *has no manner of Title*, and that 'tis damnable to resist the *present Government*. And is this the way to bring in the Pretender? No? if ever he comes here (which God forbid) the *Whigs* and *Fanaticks* will bring him: If there be any *Jacobitism* besides that of the *Nonjurors*, 'tis in *them*: They assert that the Pretender has *Legitimacy* and *Hereditary Right*, and that the present Government may be resisted upon some certain Occasions. Let any Body put those two Propositions together, and consider what is like to be the Product.

It cannot be urg'd by the *Whigs*, That We imitate Them in their groundless Calumnies, when we charge them with Republican and Rebellious Principles and Practices, and with Disaffection to the Church and Clergy: Because We produce our Evidence, and prove what We assert. Can They be Friends to the Church, who would not grant the same Security to the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, as to those of *North-Brittain*? Who are for *branding* it's *Doctrines*, *altering* it's *Discipline*, and *denying* both it's divine and human *Authority*? Who, if they speak one Word for the Church, speak Ten for the Toleration; and are for justifying the *Dissenters* in the most scandalous Hypocrisie, only that they may entrust them with Power and Places? Are these true Friends

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to the Church? Just as much as Those are to the State, who make it their Business to propagate the Principles of Resistance to Governours, and deny the Queen's Hereditary Title; all which, and much more, has very lately been done. So that our Author had no reason to ask those long Questions; *Why do they make such an Outcry against Rebellion, and Rebellious Principles, when (except the notorious* Jacobites *who herd with them, and what has lately appear'd on their own Side) the whole Nation is full of Duty, Loyalty, and hearty Affection to Her Majesty? To what end do they cry out against Republicans, when at this Day there is not* The least Appearance *of any Party that affects any Charge of the Establish'd Government?* No? Not the least Appearance? Does not *This very Pamphleteer* gives us a *New Name* for our Form of Government, and think it would be fitter to call it a *Regal Commonwealth?* By the way, if *He* must have his beloved *Substantive*, methinks He might at least have allow'd *Us* the *Adjective* we take delight in, and have call'd it a *Monarchical Commonwealth.* That would have done rarely, But *Regal* being a shorter Word, is more easily struck off; and then *Common-wealth*, being a Substantive, is able to Stand by it self. To be serious; 'tis the Height of Presumption in our *Finder of Faults*, to pretend to introduce a *New Name* for the Constitution of the Government to which He is a Subject; his Affection to which He testifies in another Place, by saying

Ibid.

P. 5th

ing that Thoſe of the *Tories* whom He is pleas'd to acknowledge to be honeſt Men, have *A* P. 47. *MORE THAN NEEDFUL Concern for the Monarchy and Eſtabliſh'd Church.* His undutiful Expreſſions of Her Majeſty, His Prejudice in favour of the Rebels againſt Her Royal Grandfather, and His plainly declaring for an Alteration in the Government, I have already taken notice of.

So that were there nothing but what is to be found in this Author, there would be *ſome Appearance*, at leaſt, *of a Party that affects ſuch a Change*. But beſides this; Has not every Branch of Her Majeſty's Royal Prerogative been lately ſtruck at? Has not Her Right of making Peace and War been ſet aſide by *Votes* and *Reſolutions* about thoſe *Matters?* Has not Her Power of appointing and diſplacing Her own Miniſters, been attack'd? Have not the Directors of the *Bank* pretended to be *Her Directors?* And has not a *Foreign State* been prevail'd upon by ſome Body or other, to put the ſame Indignity upon Her? Has ſhe not been *cenſur'd*, *rail'd at*, and almoſt *curs'd* by the *Whigs* and *Fanaticks*, for diſcarding the late Miniſtry, and diſſolving the late Parliament? Have we not receiv'd various Accounts, from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, of Villains committed to Goal for ſpeaking Treaſon upon that Occaſion? And is it not well known that little Villains are apt to blab out what They hear ſpoken by Great Ones? Laſtly, To crown all, Has not the whole Strength and Power of the

Party

Party been exerted to ſtop the Supplies of Money for carrying on the War, and to ruin the Credit of the Nation? All theſe Things are publick and notorious to the World: And yet there is not *the leaſt Appearance* of Diſaffection to Her Majeſty's Government; nor of *Rebellion*, or *Rebellious Principles*.

This Impudence of the *preſent Whigs*, is exactly like that of their Predeceſſors in 42, as it is related in my Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory. The King had in his Declarations to the Two Houſes, complain'd of the *Tumults* which render'd it unſafe for Him to continue any longer at *Whitehall*. To this thoſe infamous Rebels having long declin'd to give any Anſwer; very fairly declar'd at laſt, that, truly, *They did not know of any Tumults there had been.* The King's Reply to it is ſo remarkable; that I dare ſay, I ſhall divert the Reader by tranſcribing the whole Paſſage, which runs thus.

" His Majeſty had complain'd in his De- *Lord Cla-*
" claration, and, as often as He ſhould have *rendon's*
" occaſion to mention his Return, and Reſi- *Hiſt.*
" dence near *London*, He ſhould complain, of *Book 5.*
" the barbarous and ſeditious Tumults at
" *Whitehall*, and *Weſtminſter*; which indeed
" had been ſo full of Scandal to His Govern-
" ment, and Danger to His Perſon, that He
" ſhould never think of His returning thither,
" till He had Juſtice for what was paſt, and
" Security for the time to come. And if there
" were ſo great a Neceſſity, or Deſire of His
" Return, as was pretended; in all this time,

" upon so often pressing His Desires, and upon Causes so notorious, He should at least " have procured some Order for the future. " But that Declaration told His Majesty He " was upon the matter mistaken; the Resort " of the Citizens to *Westminster* was as lawful, " as the Resort of great Numbers every Day " in the Term to the Ordinary Courts of Justice. They knew no Tumults. Strange! " Was the disorderly appearance of so many " thousand People, with Staves and Swords, " crying through the Streets, *Westminster-Hall*, " the Passage between both Houses (insomuch " as the Members could hardly pass to or fro) " *No Bishops, down with the Bishops*, No Tumults? " What Member was there of either House " that saw not those Numbers, and heard not " those Cries? And yet lawful Assemblies! " Were not several Members of either House, " assaulted, threaten'd, and evilly entreated? " And yet no Tumults! Why made the House " of Peers a Declaration, and sent it down " to the House of Commons for the suppressing of Tumults, if there were no Tmults? " And if there were any, why was not such a " Declaration consented to, and published? " When the Attempts were so visible, and " Threats so loud to pull down the Abby at " *Westminster*, had not His Majesty just Cause " to apprehend that such People might continue their Work to *Whitehall*? Yet no Tumults! What a strange time are We in, " that a few impudent, malicious (to give them

" no

" no worſe term) Men, ſhould caſt ſuch a Miſt " of Error before the Eyes of both Houſes of " Parliament, as that they either could not, " or would not ſee how manifeſtly they injured " themſelves, by maintaining thoſe viſible Un- " truths. Had the *Whigs* in 1642. declar'd that there was not the leaſt Appearance of a Tumult; They had equall'd the Modeſty of the *Whigs* in 1710.

Now we are talking of *Tumults*; thoſe of the *Whigs* who read this, (I know it as well as if I heard 'em) are ready with their Anſwer; *Ay, you may hold your Tongue about Tumults, for Shame: Who rais'd thoſe Tumults when* Sacheverell *was try'd?* Now becauſe this is perpetually thrown in our Teeth, and our Author ſeems to hint at it in one place, and a Friend of His (whoſe Pamphlet I have juſt now ſeen, and with whom I ſhall ſpeak a Word or two, before We part) takes notice of it directly; I ſhall give a full Anſwer to this Objection *once for all*; and let us ſee who will get by it, the *Whigs*, or *We*.

Supplement to Faults on Both Sides.

I am fully perſuaded that the *firſt Riſing of the People* with Shouts and Acclamations, in favour of Dr. *Sacheverell*, was occaſion'd by no deſign'd Inſtigation of any Body whatſoever; but that it was purely owing to their own voluntary proper Motion, out of Affection to a Clergyman whom they ſaw in ſuch Circumſtances. I muſt confeſs, I believe this is the firſt *Church-Mob* againſt the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* that ever was heard of in *England*; and it

seems unaccountable how that part of the Commonalty of *Great Britain*, came to be in the Ecclesiastical Interest. Tho' it will appear less strange, if one considers that a vast Majority of the best Gentry, of the most wealthy Citizens, and of the most substantial Men in the Kingdom, were, and are zealous for the same Cause, and the same Principles. Take notice, I beseech you, that I don't mean the Principles of Rebellion or Sedition; and that I am not vindicating the Rabble in the Disorders they committed: But I mean the Principles of the Church of *England*, which they thought they lov'd, but did not understand. This Caution I judg'd necessary; considering what fair Interpretations the moderate Party always put upon the Words and actions of Those they don't love; nay, I doubt not but notwithstanding what I have said, I shall be represented as an Advocate for those Rioters; and 'tis well if some People don't swear I am one of them.—— But let that pass. The *Whigs* seeing things run thus contrary to their own, and every Bodies Expectation, and Those upon whom they chiefly depended, express the utmost Abhorrence of Them, were, you may be sure, not a little mortify'd and amaz'd. In this surprizing Turn, what should they do? To change the Inclinations of the People on a suddain, was impracticable: Since therefore they could not *stop 'em*, the only way was to *push 'em forward*, to inflame 'em to commit some unlawful Extravagance, and then, lay the Scandal

Scandal of it upon the Doctor and his Friends. This, I verily believe, is the true State of that Matter: And I think I have sufficient Reason to say so.

For, in the first place, all the Town knows that several *Dissenters* were actually aiding and assisting at the Demolishing of the Meeting-Houses. Who those *Eight* were that had the good luck to be distinguish'd from their Brethren in Iniquity, by being deliver'd out of *Bridewel* between three and four in the Morning, is not altogether so well known, but 'tis perfectly understood who those *worthy Magistrates* were, that came in Person to fetch 'em out, and what sort of Principles they zealously favour and defend. How happy was it for some of those Criminals, that they chanc'd to be of the *Moderate Party*! To receive the Honour of so early a visit in *Bridewel* from *Men of that Quality*, and to be so soon set at Liberty, by those *impartial Dispensers of Justice!* While the poor *High-Church* Malefactors, put into Prison for the very same Action, were left in Limbo, to be either *whipt* as *Roiters*, or *hang'd* as *Traitors*!

Then, that they actually did make that use of these Disorders which I mention'd, is most notorious. The Doctor and his Friends bore the Blame of all: And away it went; *Ay, these are your Church Principles*; *Here's High-Church for you*; *This is the Loyalty of High-Church*; *You may see now what these Men drive at*; *This is Passive Obedience*; *Tumults and Rebellion, and High-*

High Church is the Word. And so between the Villany of some, and the Folly of others, this Scandal stuck for some time, and may stick still for ought I know; and the profligate Scriblers of the Party took great Pains to improve it to the best Advantage. Not that there was ever the least Foundation for such a Lie; never the least Encouragement given by the Doctor or any of his Friends, to those *Tumults*, directly or indirectly: Tho' others had the Conscience to give out, that they had distributed Money among the Rabble. This, they said, would be prov'd: And prov'd it had certainly been, had it been true; but the want of that Circumstance spoil'd all: And the Persons accus'd, knowing their own Innocence, were perfectly unconcern'd at the Matter, and despis'd the impotent Malice of their Enemies.

So that tho' I can't tell you who *were* the the true Authors of these Disturbances, yet I am sure I can tell who *were not*; 'twas not Dr. *Sacheverell* nor his Friends, who abhor all such Proceedings; tho' the contrary has been most wickedly asserted, and that too by *some* whose Characters and Offices, one would think, should oblige them to have a more strict Regard to Truth and Justice. I must own, I have so favourable an Opinion of that Multitude which apear'd in *Lincoln-Inn-Fields*, and other Parts of the Town, as to think they had no ill Design against the Queen or the Church, but that on the contrary, they were zealous for *Both*, and thought they did them Service by pulling down

down Meeting-Houſes. This indeed was a *Zeal not according to Knowledge*; the Action was moſt unjuſtifiable, and upon all accounts inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of that Church, which they thought they were defending. But every Body knows that when the People are willing to take the *Original Power* into their own Hands, whatever were the Principle of their firſt Riſing, a Man may as well pretend to account for the Blowing of the Wind, or the Roaring of a Deluge, as for their Actions. This, at leaſt, is my Opinion at preſent; and will be ſo till I am convinc'd of the contrary, by the moſt ingenious Author of *The Tale of a Tub*; when he ſhall be pleas'd to oblige the World with his accurate Treatiſe, entituled, a *Modeſt Vindication of the Proceedings of the Rabble in all Ages.*

Well, but, ſtill 'tis plain the Doctor was the *Cauſe*, the *Occaſion* of this Diſturbance; 'twas *'long of him*, 'twas *upon his Account*, and ſo it ought to be laid at his Door. 'Tis thus that Thouſands have reaſon'd upon this occaſion; and even upon this Bottom, the Dr. has been curs'd and rail'd at with all the Rage imaginable This, one would think, is very hard; to be arraign'd for being arraign'd is ſomewhat extraordinary. I ſhan't put ſuch an Affront upon the Underſtanding of any Man of Senſe, as to anſwer this Objection *to Him*: But as for thoſe who argue in this manner; without expecting they ſhould have Metaphyſicks enough to diſtinguiſh between the ſeveral ſorts of *Cauſes*, and call them by their hard Scholaſtick

laſtick Names, I ſhall only put this plain Caſe to them. Suppoſe I were walking along *Cheapſide*, meaning harm to no Body; and ſome ill-look'd ſurly Fellow, or other, not liking my Perſon, or my Principles, ſhould be pleas'd to knock me down, or puſh me into the Channel. Upon this, as 'tis uſual in ſuch Caſes, a Crowd gathers round us; and in that Crowd ſome Body elſe has his Toes trod upon, or his Shins broke. Now, according to this way of arguing, I ought to be knock'd down *again*, as being the Cauſe of it; whereas I ſhould rather have imagin'd, that He who *began the Aſſault* upon me, was the only Perſon in fault, and the real Cauſe of both our Misfortunes. But to return to our Author.

He lays down this wiſe Aphoriſm, *(p.* 48.*)* That *all Good Men mean well*: That is to ſay, That *All Good Men are Good Men*; and I muſt entirely agree with Him. 'Tis true too (as He endeavours to prove) That many Quarrels and Animoſities ariſe purely from Prejudice or Miſunderſtanding; and that very often People do not differ from one another, ſo much as They think they do. But notwithſtanding all this, there is ſometimes a *real* and a very *wide* Difference in the Sentiments and Principles of Men; and the way to *reconcile Perſons*, is to *diſtinguiſh Things*, not to *confound* them.

His crude, inconſiſtent Reaſoning about Loyalty and Paſſive Obedience, and the Difference between the *Whigs* and *Tories* in thoſe Points, I paſs over at preſent; having before refer'd

refer'd the Reader to the many unanſwerable Treatiſes which are, and will be publiſh'd upon thoſe Subjects.

His ſaying that We *attribute to our Kings the ſame Powers which are taken by an abſolute Monarch*, is a poſitive *Falſhood in Fact*; and conſequently is not capable of being confuted by *Reaſon*. P. 52.

Our Religious Conteſts (ſays He) *are more about Ceremonies, and Church-Diſcipline, than the Worſhip of God, which conſiſts in Spirit and Truth; and therein I am afraid both Parties will be found too much wanting.* I am afraid ſo too; but what is that to the purpoſe? Why, 'twas never intended to be to the purpoſe: This is what we commonly and properly call *Cant*; that is, a Set of very godly Words, ſignifying nothing to the matter in hand, and deſign'd not to *inform*, but to *puzzle* and *confound*. The whole Paſſage indeed, if examin'd, will appear to have no Meaning in't. *The Worſhip of God conſiſts in Spirit and Truth* God is to be *worſhip'd in Spirit and Truth*, if He pleaſes; And what then? Does this exclude Ceremonies, and Church-Diſcipline? Becauſe there ought to be an *inward* Worſhip, does it follow that there can't be an *outward* one? We agree pretty well, He grants, in the *Worſhip of God which conſiſts in Spirit*: I am glad of it: But we have *Conteſts about Ceremonies and Church-Diſcipline*; I am ſorry for't; but whoſe Fault is it? *Our Conteſts are about Ceremonies, Diſcipline*, and ſuch Things: What *ſhould they be about*, if We P. 51.

have

have *any* Contests? Not about the *Faith* of Christianity, 'tis to be hop'd: In *That* all Christians agree. What would this Man have? Would he have us quarrel about *every thing*, even about the first Principles of Religion? Or would He have us *transfer* our Quarrels; agree in what we differ about, and differ about what We agree in? No, He will say; He would have us agree in every Thing. With all my Heart; That's the very Point we would gain. Why don't the *Dissenters* forsake their Schism, and communicate with the Establish'd Church? Do *We* separate from *Them*, or *They* from *Us*? They, most of 'em, own the Terms of our Communion to be Lawful: And if *Peace* (as They truly say) be so excellent a Thing, Why do *They break it?* Why do They causelessly rend the Church, and tear us in pieces with Quarrels and Factions? For the Distinctions of Parties into *Whig* and *Tory*, *High-Church* and *Low-Church*, are owing to their unreasonable Separation; and Men are said to be of This or That Party, according as They are more or less Favourers of the *Dissenters*. So that *They* are the Authors of all our Confusions; not only of their own Division from the Church, but of *our* Divisions one among another. Had We no *Dissenters*, We should have no *Whigs* or *Tories*.

I have taken to pieces this *senseless Latitudinarian Cant*, that every Body may see the wretched Folly and Emptiness of it. The Nonsense that has been talk'd and printed upon this Subject is indeed enough to amaze

one

one: I know of nothing more ridiculous and silly, unless it be the Project it recommends; which is a Comprehension in the Church, and a Coalition in the Ministry.

The System of Christianity, which our Author has oblig'd the World with, is, to be sure, extremely edifying; and comes in admirably well, after a Discourse upon *Funds* and *Bank-Stock*, Whether He understands *Trade*, or *Divinity* best, is not easy to determine. After I had read This, I knew the Praises of *Peace*, or *Charity* could not be far off; and so it prov'd: For a *Whig* has but two Subjects to preach upon, *Peace*, and the *Christian Religion*: For this Reason, I suppose, because his Party consists of Those who are the greatest Enemies to *Both*. Those Subjects are undoubtedly very good ones; but they have had the Misfortune to be dishonour'd by the dullest, most illiterate, and most insipid Harangues, that *H----te* ever commended, or *K—— t* ever utter'd.

The System which our Author has laid down, He thinks all Christians agree in; 'Tis at best, I think, a very imperfect one: But suppose All do agree in it; Why, therefore we must not contend about our Ceremonies, or Liturgy, nor even about Episcopacy, which we have prov'd to be Essential to the very Being of a Church. We agree, in the main, about the Doctrines of Religion; therefore we are to contend about Nothing, tho' of the utmost Consequence, next to Religion it self; but are oblig'd in Conscience to give up every Thing to

our

our Enemies. This is the meaning of all
ſanctify'd Talk in *p.* 52: from thoſe Wo
Yet ſuch is the miſerable Apoſtacy of profe
Chriſtians, &c. to the bottom of the P
Which I take notice of, that the unw
Reader may not be deluded by the preten
Piety of One, who (as we have abunda
ſhewn) endeavours to undermine both
Church and State, and juſtifies the gro
Corruptions that can well be committed. E
copacy is much more than the *Shaddow* of R
P. 52.] gion: Indeed if *Men in contending for it, have*
the Vertue, Power, and Subſtance of Religi
they have much to anſwer for; But ſtill t
ought to contend for the former, tho' not
looſe the Vertue, Power, and Subſtance of
latter. But who are They that are thus
mininal? I appeal to any indifferent Per
whether there has not been much more F
and Violence ſhewn by Thoſe who attack
Church, than by thoſe who defend it. And th
is moreover this remarkable Difference, t
the former commit a grievous Sin by Atta
ing; the latter do their Duty by Defendi
the former being the Agreſſors, and the Auth
of all our Confuſions, are anſwerable for
Animoſities of the latter, as well as for th
own: As a Prince who enters into an un
War, is guilty of all the Blood that is ſpilt
both ſides.

The truth of the Matter therefore is Th
The blame is to be laid upon thoſe who un
ſonably ſeparate from our Church: *They* ca

ese Divisions; *This is* the real State of the ise: All the rest is amusing Jargon, to con- und People's Understandings. For has there en the shaddow of an Argument produc'd to e contrary? Yes; *God is to be worship'd in Spi-* P. 2. *and Truth*: Some *People swear and execrate for* P. *Church*; The *End of Religion is the changing r depravd Nature, and Sanctifying the Soul*; ace is very desirable; few People live so good ves as they should do; they are hot, fu- us, outragious, and so forth; from all nich 'tis as clear as the Sun, that we ought abandon the Defence of our Constitutinn, l fairly give it up to the Dissenters.

After this strain of Godliness and Divinity, returns to his raving against the Church and ergy with more Malice than ever. *How little this temper* (meaning that of *Charity*) *do we in the Conduct of many, who Pretend to be* P. 53. *nisters of the Gospel of Peace, and yet fill their mons with Reviling, Slander, and Invective, to up Mens Minds to Wrath and Discord?* To re- t all his Ribaldry is needless, and would be useous: In short, he tells us *They have no our of the things of God*, that *They are Wolves* Ibid. *sheep's Cloathing*, that *They are of their Father Devil*, and *his Works they do*. He hates Rail- , you see; and therefore cannot but con- n it in others: And he has by this sufficient- hewn that *He is full of Meekness, Tenderness,* Ibid. *e and Compassion, and bears universal Charity l Christians*. The Truth is, I scarce ever knew *hig*, or a *Fanatick*, go about to discharge all

the Malice that the Devil can put into the Heart of Man; but he Prefac'd it with a Discourse against Railing, and in praise of Charity and Moderation.

After all; were the *Reviling* and *Invectives* true, which our Author charges upon the *Clergy*, I should freely forgive him *his Own*. But who of them are guilty of these Crimes, or any thing like it? They Preach, if he pleases against *Rebellion*, *Hypocrisy*, *Atheism*, and *Infidelity*: And 'tis their Duty to express themselves upon such Subjects with *Warmth* and *Sharpness*: They have Authority to do it; they are commanded to do it; and the Primitive Christians, the Apostles, and our Saviour himself did it before them.

But they are, or (as this Writer says) Pretend to be the *Ministers of the Gospel of Peace*; and therefore ought to *Preach Peace* to the People. This Objection is perpetually in the Mouths of the *Whigs*, and 'tis impossible for any thing in Nature to be more ridiculous; tho' I have known it much urg'd by very *famous Speechmakers*, in very elaborate Harangues. Especially by *One*, who above all the rest was remarkable for his *Charity*, *Temper*, and *Moderation*, and his strict regard to Justice.

The Clergy then ought *to preach Peace*. So they do; but are they to *Preach nothing else?* The Gospel is call'd *the Gospel of Peace*, because it is design'd to *make Peace* between *God and Man*; not because there's no Duty in Christianity, but *Peace-making:* This, no doubt, is a most eminent and illustrious part of it, but it is not the

only

only thing contain'd in it. And now, suppose a Clergy-man upon the 30th of *January*, a Day set a-part by Act of Parliament, to deprecate God's Vengeance for the most horrid Rebellion and Murder that ever was recorded in History, should in the Spirit of Moderation take this Text: *Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity!* This, no doubt, would be extremely suitable to the occasion of the Day; and perfectly agreeable to the Commands of Authority. But *Peace, Peace,* is an excellent *Cant*, especially when it comes from the Mouths of those who are the *only Disturbers* of it. Besides; the Clergy *do Preach Peace,* while they Preach against *Rebellion*; and lay open the Designs of those who make this Objection. For nothing can contribute more to Peace and Unity, than to give the World a true Notion of *Them* and their *Principles.*

This naturally leads me to take notice of just such another Objection; which is commonly urg'd by that Party in the same Breath with the former. Whenever the Clergy preach the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, and the like; 'Tis said, that they have nothing to do with these Matters; that 'tis *Meddling in Politicks*, which lie out of their Sphere, and are not proper for the Pulpit. To which I reply in the first place: Granting it be so, did not Mr. *Hoadly* as much meddle in Politicks, as my Lord Bishop of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Sacheverell?* Or does the difference lie here, that it is *criminal* to preach *true Doctrine* upon these Subjects, and *meritorious* to Preach

false? But besides; if by that Expression *(meddling in Politicks)* be meant presuming to *settle the Constitution*, or to *dictate in Matters of State*; most certainly the Clergy would be justly censurable for pretending to it: And who of them have taken upon them to determine in these Affairs? But if by that form *of Speech* be meant preaching upon those *Duties of Christianity*, which are of a *Political Nature*; we must insist upon it, that this is really their Province, and properly falls within the verge of their Cognizance. For ~~they~~ there are not Vertues and Vices of a *Political* Nature, as well as of an *Oeconomical*, or of any other kind? And are not *Loyalty* and *Rebellion* of that Nature? These things are not Points of *Politicks*, but Points of *Divinity*. Ought not the Clergy therefore to recommend Obedience to *Princes* and *Magistrates*, as well as Obedience to *Parents*, or Obedience to *Masters*, or as *any other* Duty whatsoever? Is it not of the utmost Importance? Nay absolutely necessary? Is it not earnestly incnicated by Christ and his Apostles? And ought not the Ministers of the Gospel to imitate those Examples in their *Preaching* as well as in their *Practice*.

Nay, upon some *certain Occasions*, which every Body knows, they are commanded by Authority to preach upon those Subjects. And tho' That perhaps may be no Argument to the *Whigs*, yet it is a very good One to the *True Church men*.

But these High-flying Clergymen, he says, *would place themselves above the reach of human Laws: They tell us they are* Jure Divino, *God's Heritage, a Royal Priesthood*, &c. So they are in their Ecclesiastical Capacity, but do they therefore pretend to be above human Laws, or not to be Subjects to the Government? Not in the least: nor does this Slanderer himself believe one Word of it. But he thought it would fix a Scandal upon the Clergy; and that was enough for the present. He goes on. *We see they would be flying as high as Popery it self; if we would let 'em.* I answer, *Bellarmine*, Thou lieſt. But suppose they were for *flying so high*; how comes in that Clause, *If we would let 'em?* I dare say, this Scribler is not a Member of either House of Parliament. But he has rung the Changes upon *High-flying, Flying-high, High-flyers*, &c. and therein lies the great Strength of his Argument.

The next Sentence is very remarkable: *But tho' these glorious Titles* (God's Inheritance, Royal Priesthood, &c.) *are predicated of the Divine, Spiritual, Gospel-Church and Ministry; let not these Men be too forward to attribute them to themselves, 'till they first convince us that they have no Ambition to exceed the Bounds of the Gospel-Dispensation.* I would have this Passage engraven in *Iron*, or rather in *Brass* (because *that Metal* best becomes our Author) to be the Admiration and Amazement of all Posterity: for certainly such a complication of *Villany* and *Nonsense* was scarce ever heard of. *Every* true Church and Ministry is,

I think, a *Divine, Spiritual* and *Gospel-Church* and *Ministry*; tho' sundry temporal Appurtenances may without any Absurdity be annex'd thereunto. If therefore these *glorious Titles be predicated* of such a *Spiritual*, &c. Church and Ministry, they are predicated of *our* Church and Ministry. No, says this Author; *Let not these Men* (the *English* Clergy) *be too forward to attribute these glorious Titles to themselves, 'till they first convince us that they have no Ambition to exceed the Bounds of the Gospel-Dispensation.* What he means by *exceeding the Bounds of the Gospel-Dispensation*, will appear before we have done. But the Clergy, it seems, must not pretend to be Clergymen, unless they *first convince us that they have no Ambition*, &c Why so? Suppose they should have such an Ambition, (as they have not) yet wou'd that vacate their Orders? Yes; our Author means *That*, if he means any thing. Here we plainly see what he aims at; and this is agreeable to his Pretended *Ministers of the Gospel* above-mention'd. And he is more express in these Words; *'Tis not* Enough *for them to tell us that they are the Successors of the Apostles; unless they shew us that they are acted by the same Spirit that dwelt in the Primitive Christians. 'Tis not enough*; Enough, *for what?* Their being the Successors of the Apostles is not *enough*, I confess, to prove that they are *good Men*; (there are other Arguments to prove *That*) but it is enough to prove them *true Ministers*.

Ibid.

After

After this, He says (to my great Astonishment) *We freely yield to them that the Offices of Christian Bishops, Pastors,* &c. *are of Divine Institution.* Certainly? That they are of Divine Institution, is very true; whether you own it or no: But by owning it, you contradict what you said just before; if you had any meaning in those Expressions. For if their Offices are by Divine Right; *Ambition*, or not *Living like the Primitive Christians* will never evacuate or annul them. *Ibid.*

But now comes the Sum and Substance of his Ecclesiastical Doctrine. *Let them* (the Clergy) *distinguish with us between what is Divine, and what is but human in the Exercise and Appendices of those Offices; many Powers and Emoluments have been added to them, which were not known or thought on in the Days of the Apostles; such as Lordly Titles, Temporal Possessions, Jurisdictions and Immunities, with the divers Forms, Powers, Liturgies and Ceremonies of National Churches, and the Dominion of the Clergy over the Laity; these things may be useful to Religious Societies so far as they conduce to their Support, Decency and good Order; but are not indeed any part of true Spiritual Religion, no more than the Garment is a part of the Body; and may be enlarg'd or diminished, put on, or put off, as the differing circumstances of time and place, and the Inclinations of the Prince and People may require. In short, we ought to distinguish between the Political Churches of Nations; which are Subject to be set up and pull'd down, limited and reform'd by the Authority of the Christian Magistrate; and the invisible* P. 53, 54.

Church of Christ, which consists of all such of the whole Body of Christians, who Worship God in Spirit and Truth, whose Powers and Privileges are are not Carnal, but Spiritual, and can never be alter'd or taken away; God grant that all Men of good-Will, of whatsoever Perswasion, may be found of this number, without which all our Zeal for the outward Forms of Religious Worship will stand us in no stead. In this I am sure all sincere Virtuous and Pious Christians agree with each other; and for the rest, they do but prophane the venerable Name of God, by their pretences to Religion; and if such should come to be made Legal Bishops and Pastors of Political Churches, they might yet have no part or portion in the Royal Priesthood or in God's Heritage.

Let them distinguish between what is Divine, and what is but Human, &c. Well; so we do. *Many Powers and Emoluments have been added, such as Lordly Titles, Temporal Possessions*, &c. They have so; and what then? Why, *These things may be useful to Religious Societies, so far as they contribute to their Support*, &c. May be *useful so far as they contribute?* &c. They Certainly are useful, I think, *if they do* contribute to the *Support, Decency, and good Order of Religious Societies*. But we are told, *they are not indeed any part of true Spiritual Religion.* How cleverly those Words *True* and *Spiritual* are put together? The Things here mention'd are not *Spiritual Things* indeed; But if they are not a part of Religion *as it is Spiritual*, They are some of 'em at least, (such as Liturgies, Forms, &c.) a part of

of it, *as it is True.* For true Religion consists of an *inward* and *outward* Part; the One *Spiritual*, the other *Visible*. But he proceeds; and says, These Things *may be enlarg'd or diminished, put on, or off.* Suppose they may; to what purpose is this brought in here? And yet 'tis plain the whole Paragraph turns upon This, and the following Sentence; and 'tis as plain to perceive what our Author drives at. He says these Things may *be enlarg'd, or diminish'd, put on, or off*; because he would have them first *diminish'd, and then put off*: For they are *on* already; and I think 'tis pretty manifest from what we have prov'd, that he is not for *enlarging* them. This Alteration may be made, he says, *as the differing Circumstances of Time and Place, and the Inclination of the Prince and People may require.* For this (as well as for many other of his Doctrines) he is oblig'd to the Author of *The Rights of the Christian Church.* The *Prince and People* are to make these Changes; but not a word about the *Consent* and *Authority* of the Church it self; which by the Constitution of *England*, is essentially necessary. And immediately after, he says, that *Political Churches* (as he calls them) *of Nations are subject to be set up, and pull'd down, limited, and reform'd, by the Authority of the Civil Magistrate.* So there's an end of all Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction.

By this time, I suppose, it is pretty plain, what this Writer means by the Clergy's *exceeding the Bounds of the Gospel-Dispensation.* The Apostles

Apoſtles and firſt Chriſtians had no Lands, Dignities, Lordſhips, *&c.* (for they had *Liturgies, Forms*, and *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, and *Power*, tho' our Author does not know it) therefore the Clergy *now* ought to pretend to none of thoſe Temporalities; if they do, they forfeit their Spiritual Character. For ſo he tells us expreſly in the Words above-cited. *Tho' thoſe glorious Titles are predicated of the Divine, Spiritual Church; Let not theſe Men pretend to attribute them to themſelves, unleſs they firſt convince us, that they have no Ambition to exceed the Bounds*, &c. Which *exceeding the Bounds of the Goſpel-Diſpenſation* conſiſts (as I have ſhewn) according to his Doctrine, in enjoying any of the Temporalities above-mention'd. So that they muſt either relinquiſh their Baronies, and Titles of Gentlemen, the Revenues of Biſhopricks, Deaneries, Archdeaconries, and Parſonages; or they muſt loſe their Orders, and ceaſe to be Clergymen.

The Reader will pardon me for being ſo particular in diſintangling the Fallacies of this Author, and repeating ſome of his Stuff ſeveral times over; ſince there is no other way ro *unkennel* a *Sophiſter*, but to diſlodge him from his intricate and perplex'd Sentences. Before I take leave of this Head, I cannot but admire the *Ignorance*, as well as *Malice* of the Man; who pretends to make a Parallel between *our Times*, and *thoſe of the Apoſtles* and *Firſt Chriſtians*. Becauſe *They* had not Dignities, and Revenues, when there was no National Church eſtabliſh'd

and

and countenanc'd by the Civil Authority; and when Chriſtians were entirely in a State of Perſecution: Therefore thoſe *Powers and Emoluments* are *improper*, nay *unlawful now*, at *this time*, when the Church is become a Part of the *National Conſtitution*. It's Enemies, We find, would freely own the Spiritual Character of its Miniſters, were it not for thoſe temporal Appendixes; and would readily acknowledge the Church to be *Apoſtolical*, were its Biſhops and Clergy *as poor as the Apoſtles*.

I have now done with our Author; having, I think, given a full Anſwer to every Thing material that has been urg'd by Him. This I judg'd neceſſary to be done: For tho' I take Him to be a very *bad Writer*, and a very *bad Man*, yet it is plain He is *no Fool*. His Pamphlet is well enough contriv'd to do Miſchief, and impoſe upon weak Minds: There is very little *Wit* or *Good Senſe* in it; but there is ſomewhat of *Cunning*: An Art, which any one of an *ordinary Underſtanding*, of a *baſe Temper*, and of *diſhoneſt Principles*, may very eaſily attain to.

If I have treated him with *Contempt* in ſome Places, and with *Severity* in others; I appeal to any unprejudic'd Perſon, whether *Falſe Grammar*, and *Falſe Senſe*, will not juſtify the *former*; and whether the moſt bitter Malice, the moſt unjuſt Slander, and an Attempt to undermine our Conſtitution both in Church and State, do not righteouſly deſerve the *latter*. If I have not *prov'd* what I have alledg'd,

ledg'd, I will ask His Pardon: If I *have*, I am ſure no Stile can be too ſevere for Him. He is not to be treated like a *Gentleman*, but like a *Common Enemy* to Goodneſs.

I have only to caution the Reader, that whereas I have us'd great *Plainneſs of Speech* concerning the *Whigs*: I would not be underſtood to mean every Body that has had *that Name put upon Him.* Many honeſt, and well-deſigning Perſons, no doubt, have ſome time or other been *call'd Whigs.* For my part, I ſpeak of *Things*, not of *Words*; and by *Whigs* I mean Thoſe who are guilty of the Practices, or eſpouſe the Principles I have condemn'd: In ſhort, all Thoſe who approve of this Author's Performance, and have the Front to rejoice in ſo ſcandalous a Pamphlet.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE a conſiderable Part of the foregoing Anſwer was written, I met with another choice Piece of *Whigiſh* Eloquence, and Politicks; call'd a **Supplement to the Faults on Both Sides**, &c. Tho' I don't think my ſelf oblig'd ſo much as to mention, or take notice of *all* the Dulneſs and Ribaldry which every Day flows from that Faction in great abundance, (I ſhould be finely employ'd if I did) yet becauſe *This* Pamphlet pretends to be related to *That* which I have been examining; I ſhall ſo far *anſwer* it, as to ſhew that it *does not deſerve to be anſwer'd*. Or if it does, I will make the Author of it *anſwer Himſelf*, and He ſhall do it ſubſtantially. I will extract ſome of his remarkable Paſſages, and lay them in one View before the Eyes of the Reader; who will then be able to judge whether He is fit to be *anſwer'd any other way*; and will alſo plainly ſee what wretched *Tools of a Party* the *Whigs* are forc'd to work with.

The Paſſages refer'd to, ſhall be rank'd under the following Heads.

1. *Falſe*

1. *False* English *and Nonsense.*

2. *The most impudent Lying and Slander, or villanous Falshoods in Fact, positively affirm'd without the least Pretence of Proof.*

3. *Abusing the Queen and Ministry,——and seditious and rebellious Principles.*

False *English,* and Nonsense.

P. 20. *That the People who they boast of having deluded, may see into the Party, and know a little what they are a doing.* P. 21. *Were the black Counsels of that Matter ravell'd into, doubt the* Tory *Party would find more Reason to blush,* &c. P. 48. *Nor has Things pass'd without some reciprocal Resentments on both Sides.* P. 57. *The invincible* French *Army was victoriously cut in pieces.* Ibid. *The People who complain of these Things, What can be suppos'd to please them?* Ibid. *No doubt He would have done his Devoir* (meaning *Endeavour) to have it so.* P. 66. *We have carry'd on the War at an Expence much superior to our Strength.* i. e. We have done much more than we are able to do. P. 70. *The Reflection of these Things.* Ibid. *If the Money'd Men should be prevented lending their Help:*

Lying, Impudence, *and* Slander.

P. 21. *With industrious Delays, they* (the *Tories) kept every thing back so long; that if possible, that little handful of valiant Protestants might be devoured, and* Ireland *be wholly restored to King* James.

James. P. 27. *When at last, none of these would serve their Purpose, to conquer the invincible Spirit of this Great Prince, they* (The Tories) *enter'd into the abhorr'd Project of Murther and Assassination: When this Plot first came to light, and the Persons concern'd appear'd to the World, our High-Church-Men were exceeding busy to throw it off from themselves; they were loath to bring the* French *King in, because he was their Friend; they would have hook'd the* Papists *in; but they, however averse to the Course of that Prince's Conquests, had preserv'd so much Regard to his Person, that they could not, as a Body, be brought into so bloody and dishonourable a Practice; so the Scandal of it lay wholly upon the* Tories, *even those that call themselves Churchmen, and speak loud for the Church of* England: *And when the Criminals, tho' owning the Fact, came to die, they were Absolv'd by Church of* England *Clergy-men, without owning it to be a Crime; and those Clergy-men received no Censure for it from the rest.* N. B. Those who absolv'd them (as all the World knows) were profess'd Non-jurors; and them our Author ranks with the *Tories*, or High-Churchmen who have taken the Oaths.

P. 36. *Several Hundreds, I might, I believe, say Thousands, who were profess'd* Jacobites, *came in at that time and took the Oaths.*

Steddy. *They did so; not that they were less* Jacobites *than they were before, but that they should by this be enabled to carry on their Cause with more Success: after which they tell us, they have the Pretenders Dispensation for, and his Approbation*

probation of it, in particular, as what is for his particular Service on many accounts.

P. 41. *This frighten'd many that had a True Zeal for Her Majesty's Person, and Concern for Her Safety, to think, that having reduc'd the Possession of the Crown to be only a Tenant for Life, they had then nothing to do, but to make the Lease as short as they could; and the whole Revolution, with all its Dependencies, such as Liberty, Law, Protestant Religion, Property of Estate, Toleration, and the like, lay at the Mercy of every Assassinator; a sort of People that Party hath never wanted, and which no Loyal Subject to Her Majesty, could think of without Horror.*

P. 44. *With more Openness, (I might have said Impudence)* They *(the Tories) assert the Right of the Pretender to be Hereditary and Indefeazable, and the Queen's Possession a meer Robbery and Usurpation.*

His Ribaldry upon Dr. *Sacheverell*, p. 53, 54, 55. is so long, that it would be tedious to transcribe it; and so scandalous, that it would be offensive to any Gentleman, or any Christian to read it. There is no Answer to be given; but only to say, that every Particular is a direct Lie, and that Dr. *Sacheverell* is in Learning, Parts, Temper, and Morals, exactly the Reverse of *that Character*. One thing indeed, it is fit to mention more expressly. This infamous Scribler says, that the *Doctor to move Compassion upon his Trial before the Lords, could protest his Loyalty to the Person of the Queen, and his Zeal for Her Interest; and drink on his Knees*

Knees to the Pretender, as his Lawful Sovereign in another Company. What does the *unreasonable Villain* mean? There is nothing to be said, but This; Let Him dare to own his Name, and He shall be immediately *prosecuted for the Scandal.*

P. 57. *The March into* Bavaria *was against the Will of the Party; they insulted and threatned the Duke of* Marlborough *upon it, and a certain Person of Figure swore by G---d it should cost him his Head.*

These are a few Sketches of this Writer's Talent at Lying and Scandal, without the least Proof so much as pretended to be offer'd. To transcribe all under this Head, would be to transcribe Nine Parts in Ten of the whole Book.

Abusing the Queen and Ministry; and Seditious and Rebellious Principles.

P. 47. 48. *This is the State of the Case upon the Administration of a New Ministry;* who this New Ministry were, *need not be repeated; you know them well enough; and both you and I know and have spoken it to his Honour, that Mr.* H----, *for whatever Reasons he has since mov'd in another Sphere, was the happy Instrument that freed the Nation from the* Machiavilian *Projects of that Party; and while he pursued the Measures, so happily begun in Conjunction with the Treasurer, the General, and others: the Affairs of this Nation, were under the best Influence, and went on in the most flourishing manner imaginable: And it was during this Conjunction, that most of the great*

Succeſſes which I mention'd juſt now, were obtain'd.

Turn-Round. *That is very true; and this is the Reaſon why I ſaid before, That I cannot believe that Gentleman has in his view the Reſtoring a High Tory Management; He can never be for building up that Fabrick of Folly and T——y, that he was ſo inſtrumental in pulling down: I am in great Hopes that he means honeſtly, and has ſomething ſtill in view, by which he will ſecure things upon the old Foot of Safety and Peace.*

Steddy. *I am Steddy ſtill, and have no Opinion of that kind.*

P. 51, 52. Speaking of the neceſſity of changing the Miniſtry and Parliament. *Indeed I ſee no Neceſſity the Queen has been under. I muſt own, others may ſee it, tho' I do not; and therefore I will not ſay, as ſome do, that there was no Neceſſity at all. But I have waited long to hear what this Neceſſity is; and from whence it proceeds.*

Steddy. *All that I can ſee of Neceſſity, depends upon Her Majeſty's being convinc'd that theſe new Men are faithful to Her, and more devoted to Her true Intereſt, more capable to ſupport Her than the other.*

Turn-round. *Nay, that does not prove the Neceſſity; unleſs it were that They were only capable of ſupporting Her, and not the other.*

Steddy. *There is another Neceſſity which may have ſomething in it (viz.) a Neceſſity on the High Tory ſide; (viz.) that whereas they had ſo behav'd and juſtly expos'd themſelves to the Reſentment*

sentment of the Parliament and Ministry, that they must be sure to be ruin'd, if they continu'd; it was absolutely necessary to them to have one dissolv'd, and the other chang'd. But will any Man call it a Necessity upon the Sovereign, that She should dissolve a Parliament, faithful and dutiful Servants, and change Her whole Ministry to save Sacheverell *from further Resentment, or to screen that infamous Scribler,* Abel Roper, *from the Pillory, for abusing the House of Commons in Print; a Fellow Illiterate and Ignorant to a Proverb; and whose Pen, grown scandalous to themselves, is only made use of, for his daring to say any thing, without regard to Honour, the Reputation of Persons, or the Truth of Fact. Sure this can be no part of the Necessity.*

Turn-Round. *But they alledge, the Heat of Parties was come to that height, and the Animosity was so great, that there was an absolute Necessity to give Things a new Turn; that the Edge might be a little taken off on both Sides, that both Sides might be cool'd, the Fury abated, and Things brought to a Temper.*

Steddy. *Then you are to suppose this new M----y are to bring Things to Temper. But will you first examine what Men of Temper are among them? Have they not thrown us all upon the* Tories *for Moderation, and upon the Men of Fire to cool our Heats? How can this bring us to Temper?*

Turn-round. *Why this is the very Thing I complain of; and for which, as you know I told you, I am come off from them; and yet I am still of Opinion, they will not pretend to the Measures*

they took in the beginning of the Queen's Reign; and that when they come to act, you will see them steer quite another Course.

Steddy, *I find you are of the Opinion of the* Review, *That* tho' they are *Tories* by Inclination, they must be *Whigs* by Office; *and* that by the Necessity of the Constitution they must act upon Revolution Principles. *I am in part of that Mind too; but I cannot but think 'tis dangerous to have a* Whig *Constitution administred upon* Tory *Principles. There is a certain Necessity, that either the Constitution must restrain the Principle, or the Principle will destroy the Constitution.*

P. 60. *I am to be understood of the* High-Tories; *these are the Men that have all along aimed at our Destruction; these are the Men that have brought all our Distractions upon us; these are the Men that have often brought us to the brink of Ruin, and who will again, if ever they are cloathed with Power: And if any of these Men are put into Office, so far I think we are absolutely unsafe: This is what renders us uneasie, and frights us at the Apprehensions of Changes.*

P. 61. *Are not this* New Ministry *in more danger to deliver us up to a mad* High-Tory *Administration, than the other were? Are they not bringing* Tories *into Places of Publick Trust and Employment? This will lay us open to the Party that would ruin us all; and in the End, if let loose, will ruin them too.*

P. 69. *I know what a certain* Great Man *and now* Leader of this Management, *has been pleas'd to publish to the World in Print, in his*

Essay

Essay upon Credit *(viz.)* That Credit depends not on the Ministry, nor on this or that Great Manager, but upon the Parliament, and upon a Just, Honourable, and Punctual Discharge of every Trust, and a fair Management. *And this is very true; But then it follows which I suppose the* Right Honourable the Author did not Forget, but Omitted, for good Reasons.

P. 71, 72. *If there were any uneasinesses, any Errors, any Objection, they were not among the Incurables; they would have easily admitted a Remedy; and all our Party-Differences might have been accommodated among us without a Breach that should influence our Allies, touch our National Peace, and put new Hopes into a Desponding Enemy. These were my Thoughts upon the general Article, when I saw the first Removes; tho' I confess, I was sorry for it, yet I thought there might still be some room for the Re-establishing things; and that Men put in, as they had no Views before them, but what were laid on a moderate Management, would have brought in Men qualify'd for a Concurrence with such a Principle: But when a second and a third Trust was given, and I saw who followed to the Breach, and who enter'd* Pell-Mell *with the first;* Then I gave up all, and despair'd. *But I'll suppose for once,* What I should be Glad to See, *(viz.) That the New Managers shall proceed by moderate Measures and Schemes taken from the Revolution; that they shall carry an even Hand in their Steering*

ing between both Parties, and make no Breaches upon our Settlements, either Religious or Civil.

P. 74. *I should be less concern'd if the Consequences were not to the Nation more than to the Ministry; they may fall, and few would pity them; but our Liberty, Religion, and Constitution must fall with them, and that is the Foundation of my Concern in it.*

P. 15. *O* Steddy! Steddy! *If my Grandfather Sir* Anthony Steddy, *and his Hundred Sons were alive now, these People durst not act so; but our Family is very much declined, and a great many of my Great Relations are dead King* James *cut off some of them; as* William Lord Russel-Steddy, Arthur Earl of Esser Steddy, Algernon Sidney Steddy, *and the like; these were Relations of mine, which if they had been alive now, these People could never have come in thus upon us; but they are gone, and there are very few of the Name now in being.*

P. 25. *If I am not misinform'd, they* (the Scots) *had Power by some of their Laws to pass it without Her Majesty's Assent.*

Very many other Instances both of the Ignorance and Impudence of this Writer might be produc'd: But I will not tire the Reader as I have done: And whether such an Author as This ought to be dealt with by Argument or by Punishment, I leave to my Betters to determine.

FINIS.

[Tzoff, Josiah